



## HOMUNCULUS.

## "Debs' Plan" Criticized in Anticipation by Goethe.

On the 15th instant Mr. Debs launched his plan of starting Socialism by colonizing a State with a speech delivered in Handell Hall, Chicago. The speech throws no additional light upon the project, and the matter, already having received full consideration in these columns, would not be entitled to any further notice were it not for a statement made by Mr. Debs accompanying his speech and "launching." He said he had with him in his project "ALL THE LEADERS OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT WHO DO NOT ACCEPT THE ORTHODOX VIEWS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL." This implied rejection of the principles by which the organized Socialist movement of the world is guided, and by which it condemns Mr. Debs' plan, has much practical value. It furnishes more than anything else the key to the understanding of Mr. Debs' conduct. By the light of this statement Mr. Debs' plan may be profitably looked into once more.

Untutored discontent bears many features; one of them is to be a ready prey for the exploitation of those who have the wit to use it. For instance, the untutored discontent of the wage slaves renders them ready preys to middle class charlatans. The middle class fleeces the wage slaves as heartily as the upper capitalist class; but the middle class is itself ground down by these upper capitalists. Its fight with the capitalists is not a fight against exploitation; it is a fight against its oppressors for the purpose of relieving itself alone; nothing is further removed from the minds of the middle class than to put an end to the exploitation which it practices, in common with its more powerful rivals, upon the wage slaves. Nevertheless, this middle class turns with a fearful face to its own fleeced wage slaves and tells them: "We two have a common cause; both of us are sat down upon by the monopolists; let's join hands and overthrow these tyrants." The appeal sounds plausible; and many untutored workmen fall into the trap, not understanding that they are thereby simply fighting the battle of a branch of their oppressors; and doing nothing for themselves, doing, in fact, nothing short of strengthening against themselves the arms of their petty tyrants.

The result of this false political position into which untutored discontent places the workers is that they absorb all the heels-over-head economic and sociologic notions of the middle class, and, as a further result of that, look upon the economic and sociologic teachings of the tutored workers, of the Socialists, with distrust and as echoes of the "ORTHODOX VIEWS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL." These untutored workers became so thoroughly soaked in the twaddle of their middle class political leaders that they consider the tenets of these to be sacred, and as they find the Socialist Labor party fighting these tenets, they become angry; their anger blinds them to the fact that the Socialist fights the capitalists as well; they conclude that, being themselves fought by the capitalist and the Socialist, the Socialist is dominated by "ORTHODOX VIEWS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL," and reject his teachings. Mr. Debs is evidently still laboring under the influence of so blind a hatred for capitalists that he identifies hostility to middle class confused notions with "ORTHODOX THOUGHTS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL." We say "still," because that has been his unfortunate attitude the last four or five years. For instance:

When in 1893 Mr. Debs started his American Railway Union, we pointed out in three successive articles that his new organization was new in minor details only, but that it was structurally as defective as the old Brotherhoods, and that its fate was disaster. We pointed out that an organization of men for economic purposes that did not simultaneously blind them to unfettered political action for the overthrow of their wage slavery, would keep the men in ignorance of the real issue, would perpetuate their faith upon strikes and boycotts as THE panacea, and would finally force the leaders' hands, despite themselves, to adopt the old style of weapon—the bootless outbreak of a strike; and that, under such conditions, disaster would be inevitable, the police, military and courts would overwhelm the strikers. We were at that time answered in print substantially that all that was wrong reasoning, etc. The railroad magnates, who were getting along quite well with their men, owing to the corruption of the Grand and other Superlative Masters, did not like Mr. Debs' start; it was led by an honest man, whom they despised of corrupting; owing to the opposition of these big capitalists to an organization that could only liberate them, the friends of the A. R. U. plan were angry at our criticisms; we were virtually told that we acted according to "ORTHODOX VIEWS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL"—yet what we foretold happened, after Mr. Debs had fruitlessly bumped his head against the facts that he ignored.

Again, when the middle class swung out for 16 to 1 free coinage, we pointed out the fallacies of the proposition; we

pointed out the class interests of the silver mine barons and of the Popocratic Senators, and showed that all of these were using the workers as cat's-paws. Our campaign of education was carried on under a thick cloud of abuse from Popocracy. The Popocrats did not care to notice that we attacked both the gold bugs and the silver bugs, as members both of the same capitalist family; our opposition to Popocracy earned for us its anger; and how often were we not told that our words were echoes of Wall street and our economic theories but "ORTHODOX THOUGHTS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL!" Yet the time came when those who held these views, Mr. Debs among them, realized finally that they had been pulling in the wrong direction when they pulled for Popocracy.

Similarly at all points is the case with Mr. Debs' colonization and all such plans. We have pointed out that the Socialist Commonwealth is a revolutionary body, and that such bodies cannot exist on territory over which the adverse principle of capitalism holds political supremacy. We have pointed out that the Socialist organization, known as the government, is the point of attack, and not until it is conquered can the class be overthrown in whose interest it is to uphold capitalism. We have pointed out that the class instincts of capitalism will rightly and quickly scent danger from the conquest by Socialism of any of its constituent parts, and will apply and enforce its class interpretation of the law so long as it holds the central power. We have, finally, pointed out that the Socialist Commonwealth is an evolution and birth out of the womb of capitalism; consequently, that neither can it be "manufactured," nor can it be born away from the centers of capitalism any more than a child could be born away from its mother, and that this birth can be the result only of a hand to hand struggle between the two adverse classes—capitalist and proletariat, but never of any runaway scheme. Based upon the same scientific principles that pointed inevitably to the collapse of the A. R. U. and the fallacy of Populism, we have, as a scientific deduction, warned against the colonization plan as one destined to fail egregiously, and by its failure, heap up higher the already mountain-high feeling of helplessness which has been raised by the wrecks of the false hopes reared by "pure and simple" middle class reform movements, and utopian schemes without end. The hostility of capital to even the word Socialism causes our hostility to this latest of wildcat plans to be again identified with capitalist reasoning, and, accordingly, again we hear the cry that ours are "ORTHODOX THOUGHTS EMANATING FROM CAPITAL."

As to that peculiar frame of mind that will mistake the capers of lack of sound knowledge for the flights of independent genius, and will superciliously spurn as "orthodox thoughts" the conclusions of science, the genius of Goethe long ago drew it upon his canvass and submitted it to scathing ridicule. In the second part of his great drama of mankind, "Faust," the world is introduced to a plodding chemist, Wagner. This worthy recked not Milton's warning against that "incessant reading," unguided by judgment, whereby the student

Unsettled still remains,  
Deep versed in books and shallow in himself,  
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys  
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge.  
As children gathering pebbles on the shore.

Wagner conceived the thought of bringing forth a human being, not by the "orthodox" process of "organization," but by a new one of "crystallization." The theory that man is an organic development he discarded as an "orthodox emanation;" he maintained that a sufficiency of chemical substances—properly brought together, shaken up and boiled—could produce a man; his genius was "too free" to allow himself to be "ordered" by any "orthodox thought," and he started in to "cut a way out of the secret all of his own." His production was "Homunculus"—a fac simile of man, inside of a glass tube, who turned his scathing satire upon his "Little Papa."

As each child, born to-day, is a link of a close evolutionary chain, whose other end rests in the original chaos of creation; as each such child cannot be manufactured, but is strained through the loins of all its ancestry, so and for the same reason a new Social System is the child of the preceding one, strained through its loins, matured in its womb, and cannot be "concocted," or born away from it, any more than man—unless it be a sort of Homunculus society in a glass tube.

With warm esteem for the good intentions of Mr. Debs, but fully appreciative of the harm that more failures will do, we earnestly warn the proletariat of America once more not to embark in this new chimera; not to yield, out of love for the good intentions of Mr. Debs, greater respect to his judgment than it deserves; to how close to the line of the principle of the class struggle, never once allowing the delusion to seize it that the Rockefeller will ever aid in its deliverance, however "orthodox" this warning may sound; and to remember that, as President Boyce, of the Western Federation of Miners, is now throwing trade unionism overboard, having, to his sorrow, been acquainted only with the counterfeit article that is retailed over the Gompers counter, so may the American proletariat come some day to reject Socialism, having, to his sorrow, been taken in with the counterfeit articles that "Utopianism," unfettered by facts, had made it invest in.

## BARNEY BARNATO.

## An Abridged Edition of the Rise and Power of the Capitalist.

The Academy in Which the Capitalist's Ideals are Formed—The School in Which he Serves his Apprenticeship—The "Abstinence" Through Which he Becomes a Captain of Industry.

A few weeks ago there jumped off a steamer bound to England from South Africa a man, who, in the short span of his individual life, condensed the whole evolution, that, in most capitalists, is stretched over at least two generations, and in some cases over many more. The career of this man is for this reason worth study.

Barney Barnato was born poor. His early boyhood was spent in fitting himself out for the "survival of the fittest" in morass of the capitalist system. While some other children were being educated in the arts and pursuits that add dignity to man by broadening his horizon and stocking his mind with elevating knowledge, Barney was concentrating his mind upon the art of catching half-pennies. He "turned cartwheels" in the street behind omnibuses to amuse the passengers. This was his academy. There he learned his science. In that gymnasium he trained the muscles of his brain. Though no diplomas are awarded in that "Institute of Learning," Barney graduated no doubt in the full knowledge there imparted. He got a quick eye for human nature; knew the foibles and strong points of human character, and with that knew just how to manoeuvre into possession of their property. This is the "fitness" that constitutes the "intellectual capital" of the aspirant capitalist.

Thus theoretically equipped, Barney Barnato sallied forth to acquire some practical knowledge of the anatomy of the capitalist system. This second period of his life may be called his apprenticeship. He spent years in this. He went down to South Africa. He became a hanger-on to a circus; later an acrobat and juggler; then a peddler; and then the owner of a little circus. All this did not bring in any money; but it was bringing in proficiency in the capitalist profession. No man enters the capitalist's guild without he has his little barrel. The nursery story is that this barrel is made by "abstinence," "thrift," etc. In most capitalist cases this period of "abstinence," "thrift," etc., "clearing" burrows so far into the past unknown to the living that the theory is accepted by the vulgar. The value of Barney's career is that, from start to finish, it falls within the period that runneth not beyond this generation's ken. The way Barney made his barrel that admitted him into the sacrosanct guild of the holders of "sacred property," i.e., capitalists, ruthlessly dispels all the nursery tales on this head. With the assistance of the "fitness" which he had acquired first theoretically and then practically he made his barrel by the sharp dealing known in South Africa as "Kopje wallop," which means cheating the Kaffirs in the capacity of "go-between" or broker between them and the diamond thieves. Thus the cornerstone of Barney's fortune was laid, and he came forward worth \$50,000.

Gov. Morton made his "abstinence" pile by "failing and doing business," as Artemus puts it; Jay Gould made his by a riot in New Jersey; Barney by cheating cheats and Kaffirs. From that moment on, the capitalist butterfly spread its wings in all the glory of its creation. Barney made stock companies, sold them, made new ones; doubled, trebled his original "abstinence" hoard and swung himself into millionairehood with \$10,000,000. Open flew the doors of the parlors of the proudest mansions of England to him. His "confidence" became a new capital; with that he floated swindle upon swindle. His wealth, running presently into hundreds of millions, shrank at times, again it swelled, to shrink again and again to swell—in one of these oscillations his mind gave way. He became insane and made away with himself.

Was this a life worth living? Has the world been left better, nobler, truly wiser by the sojourn of this "Captain of Industry"? What memory has he left that an honorable father would point his son to? No, and none! Of what capitalist can it be said otherwise? Of none.

Barney Barnato's life is the epitome of the capitalist. Starting in rascality, with no ideals other than the accumulation of money, he is below the gutter, and the time comes when the barren victories of bleak money-getting upset his intellect. Nothing drearier can be imagined than the idealless monster of capital, living a life necessarily of cynicism; ignoble himself and looking upon his fellow beings either as potential hyenas or sheep to be fleeced. With a heart and head seared by such a morale, the ruling class of the present social system can only parch up the well-springs of human feeling, undermine the impulse to civilization, and reduce our world to the arid state of a volcano burnt out.

Men of sense, of feeling and of action, ye who have and ye who expect children; all ye who feel the responsibility of one generation to its successor, be ye up and doing; uproot this social system; throw it into the furnace, branch and root.

## HUNGER IN BUFFALO.

## Mass Meetings of Unemployed and March Upon City Hall.

Hungry Workmen Meet 3,000 Strong and are Addressed by Socialist Speakers—They Proceed to the City Hall, Lecture the Mayor, and Obtain Promises for the Distant Future.

BUFFALO, June 19.—Four mass meetings of unemployed Polish workmen were held at East Buffalo on the morning of the 15th instant.

Speeches were made by Socialist leaders, and the entire mass was estimated at nearly 2,500 men, who listened intently and cheered vigorously.

After the meeting about 800 of the men formed in line and marched four abreast to Main street. They proceeded down Main to the Terrace, to Franklin street and then to the City Hall, where the leaders called on Mayor Jewett. The men were perfectly orderly and appeared to be in earnest in their demand for work.

During the night the entire East Side was flooded with circulars printed in German and Polish, announcing the several meetings, the speakers, and where the meetings would be held.

The gatherings of unemployed assembled early at the appointed places. They listened to speeches from 8:30 o'clock until after 10. The Poles were very much excited, and frequently interrupted the speakers with suggestions and what to demand of the Mayor when they called upon him.

The largest gathering was on the commons at Sycamore and Lathrop streets, but scarcely had the meeting been called to order, and a speaker had started to address the crowd when a sergeant from the Genesee Street Station arrived on the scene. The officer conferred with the leaders, and in a few minutes one of them mounted the platform and said: "The police have just informed me that we cannot hold our meeting here. The owner of this property objects to it, and he says we will be obliged to move over to Sycamore street and Sweet avenue."

The crowd looked angry, but said nothing. Several picked up the platform, while others carried the banners and American flag. They moved cross lots to the location assigned to them by the sergeant and proceeded immediately with their meeting. There were fully 3,000 men in the crowd, the majority of whom were Poles.

## KOWALSKI'S SPEECH.

Michael Kowalski was the first to address the men. He started off by condemning the police for breaking up previous meetings and interrupting the first one they held this morning by compelling them to hold it in another place.

"We are assembled here this morning," said the speaker, "to get work. To put clothes on the backs of our wives and children, to keep them from starvation, and to provide for them in other necessary ways."

"We workmen are a down-trodden class. We have no influential friends until election time. Then the politicians come around, grab us by the hand and tell us what good people we are, and spend a five-cent piece on each, buying a drink over the bar. That is not what we want. We want bread for our starving children. We want to get employment, to earn an honest dollar and try to free ourselves from debt."

"When Mayor Jewett came among us when he was running for office he said: 'I will give you work, and the pay that you are getting, \$1.50 a day, I hope to be able to increase.' What has since occurred? Instead of getting better pay the wages have been reduced to nine shillings, and work at that low figure even can't be had. What did the Mayor say after he was elected, and we sent delegates to see him to inform him of the reduction instead of increase in our pay? Why, he said: 'Really, gentlemen, I am sorry, but it can't be helped. I can do nothing for you.'"

"That was the way things went after election. That is the way it will be after every election. Stand up for the Socialist Labor party. If you don't, you deserve to get just what you are getting to-day. Another thing I want to say to you. We may be interrupted by the police in our march to the City Hall. I have heard it said by some of my friends that Mayor Jewett did not want an army of hoboes to call on him. "If the police make any attempt to break the peace by interfering with us, if they try to break up our line, fight. We will march to the hall if we have to pass through fire and brimstone. We are hungry, and if they feed us on bullets it will be but a sample of what the poor workmen of Brooklyn and other places got. But have no fear. We will stand together, and I don't think the police will dare stop us."

When Kowalski finished his speech, he was cheered wildly by the crowd. Several other speakers followed.

## AT THE CITY HALL.

At 11 o'clock the men marched to the City Hall. The news of their coming had been heralded about the streets and an excited crowd was blocking the asphalt roadway leading up to the

building. Inspector Martin, of the Police Department, had Captain Tallor, of the Franklin Street Station, and a squad of patrolmen, mounted and on foot, standing ready to create disorder. But they did not succeed.

Inspector Martin required the crowd to present their demands to the Mayor through a committee. A committee was formed hastily, with Comrades Boris Reinstein and Joseph Kowalski, editor of a local Socialist organ, as leaders. Guided by Inspector Martin, Captain Taylor and two detectives, the committee wended its way through the throng of spectators into the City Hall and up to the Mayor's office.

The Mayor's office was filled to the doors in less than two minutes.

Comrade Reinstein acted as speaker for the committee. He told the Mayor that he represented an army of wage-earners out of work, and informed him that they were outside and wanted some promise of work from him. He also read the Mayor a stiff lecture to which his earnest appearance gave a point. He said:

"Where is that phantom of McKinley prosperity? Where is the work and plenty Republican orators promised us?"

"The taxpayers, most of whom are the very poor, are the real property owners. Consequently, we claim that we have a right to demand from the city authorities that they realize their duties and provide work for the people who are unemployed. The Socialist Labor party has tried all along to keep the people from any hot-headed action and maintain the dignity of labor. We hope the city authorities will realize their duties and provide work out of the funds which are the accumulations of the hard-working people."

Comrade Reinstein, continuing, said: "If this is not done the city authorities will have to be responsible for the consequences. There is a crowd in front of this building now awaiting your answer."

The Mayor tried hard to suppress his fright. He asked: "Is this the delegation for whom you speak?"

Comrade Reinstein: "I come here pursuant to resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of unemployed wage-earners. We are instructed to come to you as the head of the city government to ask you to provide work for the unemployed. Thousands of men with families are without bread notwithstanding the prosperous times promised before election, and notwithstanding the large stores of wealth that they have produced. We think it is your first duty to provide work for the unemployed."

The Mayor: "Is this the outcome of the opening of the work of the Buffalo Traction Company?"

"It started about that time," replied Comrade Reinstein.

"I am well aware," said the Mayor, trying to be propitiative, and he partly reeled off, partly stammered out, this twaddle, "that you have shown a good deal of patience amid the hard times by which this, in common with other cities, has been visited. We hope you will exercise that patience a little longer. The Traction Company and other improvements are under way and may be expected to bring you good results in the near future. I, in common with the other city officials, am as anxious almost, as yourselves, to see you provided with work. Hold your patience a little longer and we will do everything in our power to help you."

Comrade Reinstein: "But if the Traction Company and other work is not enough to give relief, what then? How are these people to get bread and meat?"

The Mayor was getting more and more uneasy. He answered: "There are several large enterprises under way—the tunnel, the armory, the new post-office, and many private enterprises. They will, we hope, furnish the needed relief."

Comrade Reinstein: "Can we expect that the authorities, if these enterprises fail, will take some action to provide for the unemployed—in case these enterprises employ only a fraction of those in need?"

"How can I promise that?" retorted the Mayor, with some show of impatience. "That is something that must be brought before the authorities in the regular way. I can make no promises in that line. All I can promise is to hasten work as much as possible and help you all I can."

Comrade Kowalski then took a hand in the conversation, but the Mayor was anxious to have it ended, and broke it off. The committee then returned to the crowd. Inspector Martin sought to keep Comrade Reinstein from making any report to the crowd before the City Hall, but he insisted on doing his duty, and said:

"It is as I expected. The Mayor says he is sorry that we have no work, but that if we will wait six months or a year he will do something for us. We have known hardship for years. We thought it was over when McKinley was elected last fall, but we made a sad mistake. The times are getting harder. Jewett's promises are like those of McKinley. They mean nothing. Our votes are good to those men of trusts and money, but our bodies may rot after election."

The large multitude became furious; the faces of the policemen blanched; but the Socialists, who led the crowd, prevented any outbreak, and led the men back to East Buffalo, where they were addressed on the situation, and were shown that nothing could help them and their whole class but the speedy overthrow of the capitalist system with the sledge-hammer blows of the Socialist Labor party's ballot.

## BOODLERS

## Investigating Boodlers in Milwaukee: Socialists Smile.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., June 18.—Observers of events in this city will have noticed that at the last general election a sudden change of heart took place in the conduct of certain so-called progressive trade unions, and that they turned their faces wreathed in smiles of approbation towards the silver swindle. Those versed in the jumps of these bodies and the law that rules their doings smelled a rat; they suspected boodler. Their suspicion now is proved true.

At the last meeting of the Federated Trades' Council, the body was engaged in the consideration of a charge made by Delegate F. Miller, of the Seamen's Union, against Delegate Otto Fisher, of the Steamfitters' Union, and business agent of the Building Trades' Council. The charge is that Fischer received during the last campaign a large sum of money from the Democratic boss, Ed. E. Wall, to promote the propaganda in favor of the silver mine barons' campaign among the organized workmen.

It was further charged that the day before election there appeared in the Democratic German sheet, the "See-bote," a large political advertisement and appeal to the organized workers to vote for the silver party, and that this appeal bore the signatures of members of the Building Trades' Council mainly, Fischer's among them, as a steamfitter, one Perry's, of Painters' Union No. 159; one Christiansen's, of Painters' Union No. 160; and one Reimond's, of the Electric Workers' Union.

At the time of this scandalous sell out no complaints were made. Now, however, Fischer is to be investigated. What will be the result of this investigation? It will result in what has happened again and again, to wit, that the "pure and simple" labor leaders will be convicted of the crime of acting as the drivers of voting cattle in the pay of the capitalist exploiters of labor. And who is to do the convicting? Answer: "The identical people who for years have cried themselves hoarse in behalf of just such fellows as Fischer in the People's party, and always fought against the Socialist Labor party."

Experience teaches that all these "non-partisan," "independent," "progressive" "union" men who are always anxious to have full "freedom of action" at elections, only to be able to "do business" with any or both of the ruling parties. This action of theirs is the only interpretation of their favorite cant phrase, "non-partisanship."

Whether all the Fischers now affect indignation or not, they are all tarred with the same stick. The only reason why these indignators now indignate is that they find some one among them stole a march upon them. The whole storm is but a farce of indignation. This is perfectly clear to the Socialists. "We are on to you, ye beauty spots!" said our Comrade Moser to one of their ilk. I join our Comrade in the remark.

CHAS. MINKLEY.

## "HARMONY."

Fakirs and Politicians "Arrum in Arrum" in Allentown.

ALLENTOWN, Pa., June 20.—The star of fakirism was illuminating our town last Wednesday night. P. J. McGuire and some sub-fakirs made a vain attempt on Easter Monday to gather a crowd for a mass meeting. They must have come to the conclusion then that they would fare better if they would invite some of our local politicians to participate. This proved indeed to be a pull. The Court House, where the meeting took place, was almost filled. Ex-Congressman Bowden, a Silver Democrat, who was chosen by the fakirs to act as chairman, declared in his opening address that he did not understand anything about labor demands, yet he "wished them success in organizing," and hoped that it would aid to establish better harmony between capitalist and laborers. Mr. F. E. Lewis, the Republican Mayor of Allentown, spoke also but a few minutes. He had to make the remarkable confession that he also did not know anything about the complaints of labor, and for the simple reason that he never in his life did a bit of work. He did not seem anxious to learn something about it (at least not from the fakirs), for five minutes after his speech he had disappeared. I will state that over half of the audience, and with them the few Socialists present, left as soon as fakir McGuire got through with his deliberation. They will meet with no success here. P. H.

## Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	\$1,693.45
Surplus of an excursion, Brooklyn (W. Seibert)	1.30
Henry Svendsen, Clinton, Ia.	.20
Thomas McPhillips, Peekskill, N. Y.	1.00

Total \$1,695.95  
HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1896 (Presidential).....	2,066
In 1896.....	13,381
In 1897 (Presidential).....	21,187
In 1894.....	33,183
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564

The capitalist Social System has run its course; its dissolution is now only a question of time; an irresistible economic development leads to its shipwreck with the certainty of doom. No longer is the building of a new Social Order in the place of the existing one simply DESIRABLE, it has become INEVITABLE. Kautsky.

## HISTORY REVISED.

With "Fourth of July" close at hand, and the gunpowder smell of firecrackers that herald and celebrate its advent, already infecting the air, the following cablegram was written out on American territory and flashed across to Queen Victoria last Tuesday:

New York, June 21, 1897.  
To Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen of England:

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, which received its original charter directly from the King of your illustrious ancestor, King George the Third, tenders its congratulations on this happy occasion, and, in the spirit of national amity, unite with your loving subjects in the earnest prayer that God may save and bless the Queen.

ALEXANDER ECTOR ORR, Pres.

This interesting document supplements the declaration, recently made by President Low, of Columbia University, that the British Government is the greatest civilization of the world. The latter incident worked a revision of the War for Independence, and the former works a revision of the Declaration of Independence. The latter incident was tantamount to a condemnation of the Revolution—for how could a revolution be praised that was conducted against the "greatest civilization of the world?" the former incident is tantamount to the striking out of the bulk of the Declaration of Independence—all the long indictment against Victoria's "illustrious ancestor."

If nothing else evolves, our Shoddocracy does. It is evolving with a vengeance. The aid given by the British Government to the war of the slave oligarchy in the South and to the latter's attempt to break up the Union, together with innumerable other historic incidents of British rule, that some people look upon as evidences of barbaric power—all that is wiped out by that pink of our Shoddocracy, President Seth Low, and is held up as beauty spots of state craft; the systematic oppression of both the American and the Indian colonists by George III., together with the putrid morality of this worthy—all that is now extolled as evidences of "illustriousness" by our chief Chamber of Commerce. If this is not evolution, what is?

The flaming accounts of the Revolutionary War being denied by President Seth Low, and the veracity of our Declaration of Independence being impeached by this Chamber of Commerce, the incipient history of America as an independent nation has undergone such radical revision, that, instead of celebrating the National Festival that is at hand, our people should now hold that date as a day of fasting and mortification.

All of which will yet come to pass if the class of the Lows and the Chambers of Commerce is not speedily kicked down and out.

## HOW THEY WERE TAUGHT TO THINK.

A convention of the bituminous coal-miners of Pennsylvania, held in Altoona in this year of grace, 1897, should stand out like buoys that are fastened on sunken rocks. As such buoys are intended to notify the mariner of the dangers of the waters surrounding them, so should this convention serve as a signal warning against that peculiar course of education, and of "making the people think," that "pure and simple" has been putting the masses of our workers through.

The representatives of a branch of our industrial workers whose members have been grunting under the yoke of wage slavery to the extent of being deprived of probably much more of the wealth that they produce than any other workers, give utterance to complaints that clearly reveal:

First—That they have not yet the remotest inkling of what is the cause and nature of their degradation; and

Second—That they are willing to remain in a state of vassalage, provided

only the yoke does not become too galling.

At this convention resolutions were adopted protesting against the "systematic robbing of the miners," not by the system of wage slavery, but, note you, by "false weights and pluck-me stores!"

The education that "pure and simple" has imparted to these workers has kept them in all these years ignorant of the fact that the cheatings they were subjected to by "pluck-me" stores and false weights could be systematically practised upon them only because they were wage slaves; it left them in the dark upon the fact that their wage slavery was the ground work of all other impositions, and that through that hole flowed the heaviest leakage from their wellbeing. Consequently, their "education" incapacitated them so far from thinking that it engaged them in resisting results that were resistless just because it taught them to submit quietly to the foundation cause of all such results.

In the second place, the protest reveals the important fact that "pure and simple" unmans the proletariat. What else can the cry against the sharpness of the master's lash mean than objection to the excessiveness of inhumanity, not to inhumanity itself; to the excessiveness of slavery, not to slavery itself? A convention of miners on whose necks the yoke of wage slavery has been tightly fastened, and whose representatives have not a word to say against the yoke itself, proclaim it to the world as loudly as any trumpet can bray the announcement:

"We are willing slaves."

"Look out for the execrable pack of 'pure and simple' leaders that makes the workers think, according to the gospel of St. Capital.—This is the note rung from the buoy-bell that is fastened on the convention of the bituminous miners that has just met in Altoona, Pa.

## NOT BAD FOR MAINE.

Principle is a holy thing; wherever found, however absurd, there is that in it that entitles it to respect; and, though it may be fought to the knife, the battle against it must be conducted on a high plane. Up to this higher plane do we now rise from the ditch, in which the principleless populism of "16 to 1" has forced us to contend on the money question, in order to fire the first gun on the money question against Greenbackism.

Greenbackism is in a measure an aspiration after Socialist money. But the principle of Greenbackism is absurd. It is that, under the present social system, of individual production, i. e., before Socialism, money under no circumstances needs intrinsic value. It ignores the double function of money as a medium of exchange under individual production, and as "legal tender," or a means of payment. Greenbackism confuses the two, it keeps its eye only on the latter, without giving due thought to the fact that the latter is based upon the former. With a logic, manful and unerring, that is worthy of a better cause, Greenbackism draws from these principles the conclusion that, as money needs no intrinsic value, the material of which money is made should be paper.

Populism, on the other hand, starting from identical principles, gives up its principle and takes a position in denial of it by demanding the coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 units of silver to 1 of gold. If money needs no intrinsic value, and gold and silver are to be the materials out of which to coin it, the only conclusion that is logical is that it should be coined at the ratio of 1 to 1. But Populism, despite its claims to exalted morality, spits upon its own principles and kicks them aside.

For a time the Greenbackers allowed themselves to be roped in; Popocracy came up; and the all around disreputable slogan of "16 to 1" rang through the land. But the Maine Greenbackers have at last sounded the note of their emancipation from such disgraceful company. They repudiate the 16 to 1 theory, down they throw it, and up they raise the banner of uncompromising Greenbackism.

It is quite possible that, at the next Congressional and Presidential elections, Greenbackism will be an issue. Its clear cut logic will aid greatly to the exposure of the impurity of sixteen-to-oneism, and at the same time to the overthrow of its own gravely erroneous economic foundation.

There is nothing like straightforwardness to purify a fight and reach the truth.

Queen Victoria's jubilee, news comes from Europe, was celebrated in India by the setting free of 20,000 prisoners.

Has the reading public of this Nineteenth Century the sense of Hottentots? or does the world's ruling class think so poorly of the public as to give them credit for no more sense than that?

If in India alone there were 20,000 prisoners in the domain of this "glorious Queen," how "glorious," indeed, must have been her reign!

The gold bugs are being beautifully hoisted by their own petards. They have sedulously inculcated in the public mind the idea that Socialism is un-American by means of arguments that directly and indirectly denied the principle of the international basis of capitalism, and which amounted to saying

that America has a set of economies peculiar to itself. Having thus cultivated the notion that in America the economic trees grow with their roots in the air, they are now met with the logical conclusions from such premises. They are told that America can have her own money standard, and when they meet this with the statement that there necessarily is such a thing as international money, they are scornfully answered, and with perfect logic from their own anti-Socialist reasoning, that they are HERETICS. This is a well-merited retribution.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The otherwise bright and brilliant Waco, Tex., "Brann's Iconoclast" for this month does not seem to realize that each of the well merited lashes, which it applies to the backs of those who voted for the "syndicate candidate" of the gold bugs, cuts deep, and justly so, its own and the backs of all those who gave their suffrage to the "syndicate candidate" of the silver mine barons. There is no more sense in jumping into the fire than in staying in the frying pan.

We can imagine the astonishment that causes the San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter" to break out into scare marks with this squib:

"Imogene Pales, writing to the Chicago 'Express,' says: 'Please discontinue my paper; I am a Bryanite and a Socialist.' What Imogene doesn't know about Socialism would make several large Socialist libraries. A Bryanite and a Socialist!!! Great Guns!!!!"

Our friend's astonishment is probably due to its not being acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of the Brooklyn, N. Y., lady's "Socialism." The "Socialism" of this lady is of a special, and certainly unpatented, brand. It is the "Socialism" of all those who do not know what Socialism is, but know that it is a mighty movement, and desire to join the cry; who then set up their little plans and fly off the handle despite all friendly warnings by the organized and experienced Socialists; who find they were in error, but, instead of remembering the warnings given, start off on another tack equally wrong again; who bump their heads in this way from error to error, showing them that the Socialists were right, but, who, each time they find themselves dumped and realize that the Socialists were right, instead of saying: "The Socialists are right, let us fall in line with them," say with increasing anger, increasing at each experiment: "Damn those Socialists, they are right again!"

We do not mean to say that the distinguished Brooklyn lady in question uses profane language; we do mean to say that the mind uses many a word which the mouth does not give vocal utterance to, but which one's conduct betrays all the same.

Our San Francisco colleague will now understand why it comes that one who pronounces himself "a Socialist" can in the same breath declare himself "a Bryanite," the follower of a man who pointedly says: "I am no Socialist," and whom the skimmers of the silver mine workers picked out for their standard bearer. Such is the make-up of "unpatented Socialism."

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen," organ of the Cleveland Central Labor Union, makes the observation that:

"From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the gulf, there is not a fakir, skate or boddier, big or little, who does not curse the Socialists, their newspapers and their unions because they are trying to organize the working people upon right lines. In accordance with modern industrial development—to rescue labor from the morasses and pitfalls into which it has been led by traitors and ignoramus. Of course, the fakirs have been able, by appealing to prejudice and passion, and depending upon the thoughtlessness of the workers, to secure the support of the large body of organized men and women, who are thoroughly honest and conscientious. But this condition is changing, we are happy to say. All over this land there is beginning to be noticed a firm determination to weed out the unprincipled men who have too long disgraced the labor movement, and in the next few years many of the organizations will experience a radical shaking-up from the bottom upward."

Among the numerous expressions of approval by the capitalist press of the lynching of the negro Mitchell in Urbana, O., the most explicit and worth reading is that below, by the light of the preachings of this identical press to the large mass of the people, the working class, to bow down and obey the law, and never, no, never, not even rarely ever, to presume to "legislate and execute law" in mass meetings. This is the passage:

"The Negro was killed irregularly, but justifiably. The community at Urbana would be less than human, indeed it would be ill-livered and lacking in gall, had it allowed this rascal to live. The State can do nothing to those persons who informally executed the Negro at Urbana. It has not the power; it derives such power as it has from the people, and the people determined in another tribunal than that which the law creates that for this heinous offense the Negro should suffer. Sympathy with the Negro, condemnation of what may be called a mob, will be lost."

The ravishing of a white woman by a negro is a heinous offence; but it may one day be taken into the heads of the people "from whom the State derives its power" that the wholesale ravishing of working women in the factories by

white capitalists, together with the wholesale slaughter of men, women and children by these same capitalists is, at least, no less heinous an offence; and that, if it is now argued that "the people being the source of the power of the State," the people can justly legislate and enforce laws in spontaneous mass meetings, the working masses may yet decide to administer summary justice to the criminal class that now rides them to death, and whose spokesmen this capitalist press is.

Take a reef in the sails of your blood-thirsty instincts, messieurs capitalist editors. Your teachings in this respect may take root. No decent man would care a rap for the result of such root-taking upon your execrable brood or that of your infamous hirers; but such things can't happen without some of your victims suffering along with you in the crash—and your carcasses are not worth seasoning in a single drop of the sacred blood of the proletariat. For the sakes of these we warn you to spare yourselves.

The London "Justice" continues to crack good jokes at the expense of the "friends of Greece." It says:

"This Greek business is degenerating into a farce. They have all retreated from victory again, and the slaughtered Turks come to life and swarm the ramparts with surprising vitality for men so dead. Luckily for the Greeks the Powers have stepped in, and there will be no more Greek victories. A few more, and there would not be a Greek town left to retreat from, or a Greek soldier on dry land to lament the superior activity of his fellows in 'taking to the water.' A miserable set of braggarts and cowards, indeed! And their chivalrous friends here at home? They really don't mean it. Of course not. They intended the Greeks to win, and now that they have lost they can do nothing but rave and whimper and curse and swear. We wonder how Mr. Edward Lloyd, the proprietor of the 'Daily Chronicle,' enjoys it all. Abdul may be a damned villain, but Lloyd just now looks uncommonly like a damned fool."

Although that interesting publication, "Our Dumb Animals," seems to proceed upon the theory that brute creation alone is the subject of cruelty, it incidentally allows facts to leak through confirming the Socialist position that, under capitalism, everything, science included, is prostituted under the lash of hunger that the capitalist system drives the people with, and that, consequently, man, the chief of creation, is the chief of sufferers to-day. In an article against Pasteur, that paper quotes Dr. Charles W. Dulles, of Philadelphia, approvingly as saying:

"The number of cases of hydrophobia that occur in this country is happily small. It would doubtless be smaller still but for the exploitation of the Pasteur Institute, conducted by Glibber, in New York, and of its feeble imitator, conducted by Lagorio, in Chicago."

The Johnston, R. I., "Beacon," does not appreciate the beauties of a social system whose largest staple is crime, and whose favorite medicine is court plaster. It says:

"Madam, have you an old pair of shoes about the house that you could give me. I have been out of work for six weeks, and my shoes are completely worn out tramping around for a job. Such was the plea made by a respectable appearing, neatly clad unemployed weaver, who showed clearly by his countenance and general appearance that he spoke the truth. Yet there are thousands of shoemakers, tramping about just as he is, who are unemployed simply because a few capitalists declare there is no demand for shoes. The poor weaver did not get his shoes, and he turned sadly away to look elsewhere. Perhaps he got them; perhaps he did not. But what if he should go and steal a pair? Why, society would place him in prison, and pay his board for six months or a year as a penalty for his crime, and our kid gloved, dainty moralists would have another case demanding their sympathetic attention."

The Terre Haute, Ind., "Gazette," remarks on the subject of the statistics of the Illinois State penitentiary at Joliet:

"The number of illiterates is remarkably small, being only 86. Out of a total of 1,319 convicts, 825 had a common school education, and 90 had a high school or collegiate education. As to habits, in the use of intoxicating liquors only 271 were intemperate, 762 were total abstainers. From these figures it would seem that it was neither illiteracy nor intemperance that brought these convicts to the Joliet penitentiary. Nor does it appear that the want of some sort of a religious belief was the cause of their becoming inmates of the prison, for of the entire number only 216, or 16.41 per cent., were without religious preferences or connections; and as to nationality, out of the 1,319 convicts, 960 are Americans."

These are interesting facts, and so far so good; but the article breaks off abruptly just where it threatened to become interesting and instructive by the hope it raised of drawing some conclusion. The notion that "illiteracy is capital," the notion that "sobriety is capital," that other notion about "religiousness being capital," and, finally, that funniest of all notions that "American birth is capital"—each and all of these get their heads staved in by the above statistical figures. Seeing that it is an axiomatic fact that absence of want and of the fear of want keep man from crime, what other conclusions can these figures lead to but that "capital is capital?"

## FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT.

The Gropings of a Workingman Through the Maze of Capitalist Teaching Towards Socialism.

The time was when, inquiring into the cause of my unsteady employment, it seemed evident to me that the natural instinct of man to grab for everything that could enrich him, even though he should do it at the expense and suffering of his fellow neighbors, was one of the principal causes for my unsteady employment. This reasoning received strong confirmation when I found myself settling to work and endeavoring to develop that very "instinct."

When, however, my efforts were crowned with failure, and at the same time I observed that the same thing happened to many people who were trying, just as myself, to acquire riches by recklessly pursuing their own interest, regardless of others, I gave up my first reason for my unsteady employment and hit upon another. This other reason was that not everyone can succeed, but only those "most fit." Once I landed on this reason in pursuit of this vital subject, I became hungry for knowledge. Theories became pitiless shells to me; nothing but facts, the kernel of reasoning, would satisfy my craving for knowledge. That theory about the "innate-nature-of-man-to-appropriate-everything-to-himself" could no longer distract my attention. I clung to what I now considered a fact—the "survival of the fittest." I now felt sure that I had found the central truth. And yet, before long, experience and observation came bumping in upon my "fact" till they wore it all out. Wherever I found success on the economic field I found also average intelligence, oftentimes intelligence far below that; and wherever I found a high grade of intelligence I found poverty and want, in rare cases did I find a fair remuneration in the shape of means of subsistence and property. I dropped my alleged "fact," dear as it had been to me, about the fittest surviving in this social system. It became clear to me that, if indeed, it was the FITTEST who survived, it meant the fittest in rascality and in inhumanity, not the fittest in the qualities that ennoble the race.

While plodding onward, in search of work and of a third reason for my destitution, I was told in a certain shop that it would be useless for me to apply therefor because the firm had purchased a machine by which the force recently needed would be reduced by more than 50 per cent. I was informed that the new machine had been tested, and had proved a success in other factories; and when I complained of the effect of all this upon me, I was gently told that competition had forced the firm to procure the machine. I looked around the factory and saw a sign had been put at the front door, reading: "Girls and boys wanted as tenders." Like a terrier, seized with rage at the sight of an empty rat-trap, I was seized with hatred for and denunciation of the machine. I now thought I had at last run down the cause of my enforced idleness; the real cause, I now said, was not the "selfish instinct of man" nor the "survival of the fittest," seeing that the intelligent inventor himself was left as poor as I; the real cause, said I, is the MACHINE; "down with the machine and all inventions," thought I to myself.

But this "discovery" did not bring me any comfort. The attitude in which I placed me was one that made me feel more and more wretchedly impotent. How was I to fight the machine? I felt like a child in the grip of a giant. Wedded to my third error, my attributing of my poverty to the machine simply, I wandered long in darkness. But presently I saw light glimmering. My third error, though an error, was of a nature to lead me to light. It finally broke fully upon me. I realized that my opposition to machinery was not only futile but was anti-civilization; it placed me in hostility to that which made possible the happiness of the whole race—ample wealth and freedom from toil, together with the absence of the fear of want. Once I caught hold of this thought my eyes were opened for good; I abandoned my hatred for the machine, and transferred that hatred to the system under which the machine is owned. Now, at last, I had taken hold of a fact that is a fact because it fits all the facts. I saw that the trouble lay with the private ownership of the machine; I then pursued my inquiries and found that the most eminent thinkers had come to this conclusion before, and had pointed out that the solution of the question of poverty lay in the public ownership of the nation's machinery of production. Further inquiry enlightened me greatly.

The means of subsistence that I have been deprived of, I now found out had wandered in the shape of surplus-value into the pockets of the very men who employed me, the capitalists, and were used as capital to keep me in ever deeper poverty. I perceived that these capitalists, owned through theft, perpetuated on us workers, the machinery with which they ground us down, and enabled them to live as parasites upon us. To dispose of them, it became clear to me that the system that makes their existence possible must be abolished, the system that gives them an undue advantage to force the hard earned means of subsistence from the worker.

When this great thought finally took full possession of my brain I pledged myself to wage war upon the robber system, the system of exploitation by a few rich idlers practised upon labor.

The existence of class distinctions, which I would never before admit, I am now morally compelled to admit; because no man can be free who is dependent upon another for his means of subsistence; he is and will remain for the time of his dependence a wage slave, and can never be a self-respecting man unless he denounce and vote against the system that subjects him to serfdom.

The place of all those who do not consider it natural to be robbed by the fittest robber is in the camp of the Socialist Labor party. C. PANKOFF.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—Do you know what I think of the Socialists?

Uncle Sam—No; what do you think of them?

B. J.—I'll tell you—a lot of rainbow chasers. The Co-operative Commonwealth is all very fine, no one will deny that. But we are not so far yet. It is well enough to extol the beauties of the ideal system, but in the presence of existing conditions—

U. S.—Yes—

B. J.—In the presence of existing conditions, when millions are suffering—

U. S.—Would you make them suffer more?

B. J.—No; but when millions are tortured by hunger pangs and driven to desperation and despair—

U. S.—Man alive, you are awfully long-winded; come to the point.

B. J.—I say that under such conditions, notwithstanding fabulous resources, something should be done NOW—

U. S.—Whether it can be done or not?

B. J.—We must do something NOW on the lines of common sense.

U. S.—Do you know that that tune is a very familiar one?

B. J.—Have you heard it before?

U. S.—Yes; and what's worse, others before me.

B. J.—Why "worse?"

U. S.—It is the tune of the funeral march that has preceded and followed each and every time the wild goose schemes that have aimed at "improvement" and "reform," and whose only result was to throw some more wreckage on the shores of time.

B. J.—This common sense demand?

U. S.—It is a tune taken from the repertory of the "pure and simple" union, from the repertory of the fake reform movement, and from the repertory of rascally politicians.

B. J.—But how can the getting of something now be a funeral song?

U. S.—Not the GETTING, but the PROMISE OF GETTING something now is. When a "pure and simple" labor leader is told that his union is a tub without a bottom, what is his answer? It is this: "I, too, want the millennium; but you can't jump just now into the millennium; we want something NOW;" and forthwith, under the promise of getting something NOW he gets his rank and file to vote for the boss's man, who, when elected, does give him something NOW, to wit, a cut down in wages and a dose of the rifle diet for dessert.

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—When a heels-over-head reformer, who doesn't know what Socialism is, who mistakes the form for the essence, and who is roped into some middle class Glasgow plan movement, is told that the wage slave is no wise improved by such schemes, forthwith comes the answer: "I, too, want the millennium; but you can't jump just now into the millennium; we want something NOW;" and hoping to get something NOW, he places the wage slave in the hands of an improved capitalist concern, the capitalist State, which not only skins him economically, but oppresses him politically.

B. J.—Well, but—

U. S.—No "buts." The path of absurd movements to improve the condition of the workers is marked with huge grave stones, each bearing the inscription: "Thinking I could get something NOW, I lost the opportunity of taking a step, however short, towards the day of my liberation; and the result is that I got NOTHING, and lost my opportunity to boot—Rainbow-chaser."

B. J.—Rainbow-chaser?

U. S.—Yes; or follower of a mirage. The man who, parched in the desert, sees the mirage of a fresh well and would reach out his hands to that, and wear out his remaining strength in catching up to that, and would reject the advice of marching on steadily to his goal where alone he can find relief, is the picture of all such men as you who imagine you can get something now, follow that ghost, and abandon the straight road. The rainbow-chasing is a boot on the other leg. The Socialist is not the leg that wears it, but such light-headed reformers as yourself.

## ONWARD.

Written for THE PEOPLE by a Member of the Young American Socialist Society, N. Y.

Onward march, oh truthful friend,  
To thy destination; haste  
Onward, and mankind defend  
From tyrants who wealth lay waste.

Hear'st thou not all races' voice  
Calling thee from squalid tents?  
Waiting for thee, noble friend,  
To come and soothe their hot lament?

List'st thou not to children's cries  
To hungry, haggard mothers' moans?  
Seest thou not, the despot tries  
To seek more marrow from their bones?

Thou seest full well the brutal hand  
That's stretched to crush the poor  
man more;  
Thou knowest well that robber band  
That seeks to bathe in workers' gore.

So onward march, oh truthful friend,  
To thy destination; haste  
Onward, and mankind defend  
From tyrants who wealth lay waste.



## MORALITY OF CAPITALISM.

As Set Forth in an Article on Progressive Inheritance Taxation, Published in the Forum for May and Written by Comptroller Roberts of New York

Mr. Roberts in the above mentioned article shows up one of the numerous schemes of the plutocracy to "do" the middle class, and tells incidentally why the middle class don't adopt the same methods. The scheme referred to is commonly known as "tax dodging," and the reason that the middle class don't indulge in it is that it can't, its property being for the most part in the form of real estate, which can be come at to be assessed by the assessor and taxed by the tax collector, while the property of plutocracy is to a great extent in the elusive and intangible formlessness of bonds and water.

The Comptroller saves the respectable element in society a terrible shock, and at the same time seeks to disarm criticism by disclaiming, in the opening of his article, any sympathy or connection with either Populism, Communism or Socialism, and his remedy for the evil which he has exposed is in complete harmony with his opening statement, for he advocates a scheme which even the novice in "tax dodging" will view with complacent unconcern, and which has not even a suggestion of relief for the most numerous and needy class—the propertyless proletariat.

From a perusal of Mr. Roberts' plan, three conclusions are apparent: First—That the writer of the article is class-conscious; second—That the plutocracy, the governing class in this country, is unworthy the confidence or respect of the people; and third—That his scheme is a middle class measure, pure and simple, and of no interest to wage workers in general, they having no property to be taxed.

To show that Mr. Roberts is class-conscious let me offer the following, all from his article, but partly a quotation used by him: "Rosner, in his interesting work on political economy, speaking of the tendency towards a conflict between the rich and the poor, says in substance that such a conflict would be inevitable were it not for that great class who are neither rich nor poor, and who shade up gradually in their property holdings from the poor to the rich, and who stand as a WALL OF DEFENSE FOR THE RICH AGAINST THE INTENSITY OF LIFE AND DESPERATION OF THE POOR." Continuing, Mr. Roberts says: "A moment's reflection will convince any one that this is so, and then he asks this question, so pregnant with meaning to every Socialist: 'SHOULD THIS GREAT CLASS BE PUNISHED FOR THE PROTECTION THEY THUS AFFORD THE RICH?'"

Nothing further is necessary to show that Mr. Roberts is class-conscious, and right here let me say that the members of every class, except the proletariat alone, are class-conscious to a sensitive degree. It is the proletariat alone who persistently refuses to see that economic classes exist, with interests, separate, hostile and distinct, and this fact explains why all the legislation of the present day is in the interest of the capitalist class.

The members of this class see at a glance the probable effect, upon their interests, as a class, of every legislative bill or court decision, either proposed, enacted or decreed, and treat it and its authors accordingly.

Mr. Roberts' scheme for the relief of the "unfit" membership of plutocracy is the familiar one of progressive inheritance taxation; he divides this article into three parts to elucidate how it is in accord with the economic science of capitalist political economy, with the enlightened and advanced national policy of plutocracy, and with the justice of the capitalist regime.

After quoting from the gospel of capitalism, i. e., from the old political economists, to prove that all he is after is simply a proportional tax, he comes to the at once humorous and disgraceful portion of his subject. The following are his own words: "Probably in the early stages of a nation's development this (the speaking of a general property tax, i. e., a tax on both real and personal property), may be as fair a tax as can be imposed; but as the nation progresses an increasing proportion of its wealth is represented by intangible property, which can and does elude the most stringent laws and the most active officials."

It may strike unsophisticated readers that it is quite dishonorable in this property to "elude" stringent laws and active officials; others may inquire whether the owners of this property have anything to do with its peculiar nature, and yet others why Mr. Roberts does not speak more plainly; but these questions do not particularly concern us now.

What, chiefly, we wish to learn with regard to Mr. Roberts' plan is whether, in view of the ailment described by him, his remedy shows any ability, or even desire on his part to treat for a cure or only to administer a stimulant; or whether he wishes to avoid effects altogether. In order to satisfy this inquiry, it is necessary to look to the disease, its nature and enormity, which has attacked so disastrously the middle class, the germs of which are supplied by the greed and avarice of plutocracy.

## THE DISEASE.

One hundred and seven cases taken at random from the records of the Comptroller's office (New York State), show that thirty-four estates, ranging in value from upwards of \$50,000 to upwards of \$3,000,000 were assessed on the year preceding the respective decedent's death at "absolutely nothing whatever." The entire one hundred and seven were assessed on the year preceding the death of their respective owners at just \$3,819,412, but were appraised after the owner's death at the enormous aggregate of \$212,132,366, the assessment thus amounting to less than two per centum of the actual value. Following is a list of the seventy-three estates which were assessed for any amount:

Appraised after death of owner.	Assessed the year preceding owner's death.
\$3,544,343	\$15,000
2,544,008	10,000
1,400,000	15,000
2,756,323	20,000
10,252,857	500,000
1,223,116	10,000
1,000,000	10,000
1,167,015	5,000
1,303,057	15,000
3,458,408	80,000
1,083,928	12,000
1,146,101	5,000
3,800,000	100,000
4,703,424	220,000
3,060,238	75,000
1,100,000	12,000
1,500,000	100,000
247,358	10,000
221,353	5,000
3,592,846	20,000
2,188,710	10,000
319,986	10,000
107,233	5,000
2,876,387	18,000
645,147	15,000
2,327,075	55,000
121,858	18,000
102,432	6,412
166,290	51,000
160,960	30,000
1,016,227	28,000
1,649,018	10,000
2,125,577	400,000
1,374,039	12,000
3,284,819	25,000
1,058,809	10,000
2,770,570	200,000
1,077,357	100,000
1,484,265	87,000
924,164	50,000
1,160,626	10,000
1,063,406	75,000
1,000,000	100,000
1,000,000	50,000
1,500,000	50,000
6,500,000	100,000
800,000	40,000
800,000	50,000
3,500,000	20,000
1,296,516	34,000
80,000,000	500,000
170,055	10,000
260,214	5,000
526,585	25,000
312,894	35,000
263,266	20,000
599,552	10,000
342,672	3,000
411,212	5,000
6,685,735	100,000
217,844	10,000
388,429	20,000
410,058	30,000
1,435,816	10,000
1,160,656	20,000
1,117,908	5,000
361,678	5,000
943,799	30,000
947,504	10,000
441,643	3,000
2,015,852	5,000
677,644	3,000
306,133	2,000

These figures tell a story of gigantic swindling by the "law and order contingent." They are authentic and they are irrefutable; they cannot be contradicted by capitalistic statisticians; and they cannot be explained by capitalistic economists, but something must be done; so regard the following apology of Comptroller Roberts: "Every person who has dealt either practically or theoretically with taxation must have been impressed with the fact that men honorable in all other dealings, and who would under no consideration take a dollar which did not belong to them, will shift without a scruple the burden of taxation which the law has placed upon them."

Is not this a piece with the kleptomaniac defence of wealthy shoplifters. The man who will knowingly allow a false return to be made of the value of his taxable property to the end that he may shift on to somebody else less able to bear it the burden of taxation which belongs rightfully to himself, will put his hand into his neighbor's pocket whenever opportunity offers, providing he can do so without fear of loss, either his personal liberty or his social standing.

But does any one suppose, Mr. Roberts, least of all, that men with brains enough to evade the law to-day, will be so simple as to let their property go into the courts to be partially absorbed by a progressive inheritance tax law? They will fight shy of probate and surrogate courts as they now fight shy of assessors and tax collectors. They will donate their property during life, as Mr. Mill suggests, to those they wish to be the recipients.

If Mr. Roberts' exposure of tax dodging by the upper class in New York (from other reports only a fair example of the rest of the country) does not show that plutocracy deserves neither respect or confidence, and that it is unfit to govern, it shows nothing; and if his treatment does not prove both in its manner and its subject matter that the proletariat is entirely disinterested, from the very nature of its own position, in a progressive inheritance tax law as announced by the Comptroller of New York, it proves nothing at all.

In closing, I would say to the wage-earning class:

LEAVE BOTH MEN AND MEASURES SEVERELY ALONE, WHICH NEITHER CONSIDER OR SEEK TO BENEFIT YOU AS A CLASS.

C. E. SPELMAN.

Westfield, Mass.

## Prog. Clothing Cutters &amp; Trimmers.

At the last regular session of the above union a communication was received, accompanied by a credential blank from the S. T. & L. A. Executive Board.

Report of delegate to D. A. 49 was received and acted upon. Further nominations of officers was gone into, including an alternate to the convention of the S. T. & L. A.

Election of the above alternate, as well as all other semi-annual officers, will be held next Thursday, June 24th, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street. Members are to be notified to that effect by letter. Other important business to be had at said semi-annual meeting, and members are requested to note the date so as not to fail to be present.

## THE SECRETARY.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## THE CARMAUX EXPERIMENT.

Statement of the Facts Connected with an Interesting Incident—An Exceptionally Honest Capitalist Paper.

The Syracuse, N. Y., "Evening Herald" has done itself honor, for which we hasten to compliment it, by the publication of the following editorial article:

The cable dispatch to the New York "Sun," reprinted in this paper, in which it was stated that forty members had left the co-operative glass works started by Socialists at Carmaux, in France, has been extensively commented on by newspapers as being another illustration of the futility of trying to establish "a paradise on earth" by doing without capitalists. This conclusion will be easily reached by many, because of the tenor of the cable, which gave but few details, and the close of which creates the impression that the workers had "lost all illusions," and were content to go back and work for the capitalist, M. Resseguier.

The "Herald" is informed by the Socialist group of this city that the establishment of the co-operative glass works at Carmaux was not contemplated as a step in the direction of Socialism, but was merely the outcome of a certain local condition of affairs produced by a strike in the works of M. Resseguier. The incidents leading to the formation of the co-operative works will prove of interest to many readers of the "Herald," and will aid in dispelling erroneous ideas previously held.

In Carmaux, as in many other cities of France, the workmen are exercising political power as well as economic power. It was the exercise of their political power that brought on the trouble leading to the starting of co-operative works.

One of the most prominent men in the labor movement in Carmaux was a glass blower named Baudot. The conservative element of the city desired to silence him, and in their efforts had him arrested on a trumped-up charge of having insulted the Mayor. In France if a man commits this offence it condemns him to two months' imprisonment and he loses his political rights—cannot vote or hold office. Baudot received a two months' sentence. The Socialists and trade unionists, in the face of this, nominated and elected Baudot as one of the Councilors Generaux of the department (or county) in which Carmaux is situated, thereby showing their sympathy.

After his election he was discharged by M. Resseguier, the managers of the glass factory (also deprived of political rights, having been convicted of stealing a patent now in use in his factory), on the pretext that he had been absent from his work. This was true, but it was no unusual thing for a glass blower to have a substitute, the work being so severe he is often ill, and Baudot had kept a substitute in his place during his absence for electioneering purposes. At the same time another glass worker, Pelletier, a labor agitator and leader of the trade union who had taken an active part in the election, was dismissed.

The glass workers looked on this as an outrage to the cause of universal suffrage, and all the men in the factory went on strike until Baudot and Pelletier should be taken back. The strike turned into a lockout, Resseguier refusing to give places to any of the workers. Although the men held together and substitutes could not be found anywhere to take the place of the strikers, Resseguier would not submit to the demands of the men.

The glass workers were provided, however, with the funds to carry on the strike, 60,000 francs being raised within two months and nearly 300,000 francs collected altogether. Of this amount 20,000 francs were appropriated by the Paris Municipal Council, which is controlled by the Socialists, the action being ratified by the French Ministry under pressure of the fifty-eight Socialist Deputies, who also compelled the Ministry to name the Radical, Brisson, to arbitrate the dispute. As M. Resseguier would not submit, it was then decided to start a glass factory to compete with him, and for the purpose of raising sufficient funds, an entertainment was given in Paris, which netted 500,000 francs.

The experiment at Carmaux was simply a private co-operative venture, and not Socialism at all. The promoters of it were Socialists individually, but their experiment was not socialistic. It was like any other co-operation of private capital, and was foredoomed to failure because there are so many competing concerns with vastly larger resources of capital. Socialists do not expect to establish their ideal commonwealth by the formation of numerous private co-operative schemes, and they do not admit that such concerns are of the propaganda. Private capital, private control of means to wealth production, was the basis of the Carmaux experiment as of all other similar experiments, and their failure or success has only local, individual significance. Socialists only recognize as Socialism that co-operation in which the entire machinery of production is owned by the whole of society. It is indeed a part of the Socialist creed that anything short of complete control by all the people can only be a modification of the present system of capitalism in which the machinery for production of wealth is owned by individuals, the benefits of machinery going chiefly to those who happen to be in a position to control their product.

Such is the position of the Socialists, and the "Herald" states it in justice to the Socialist belief and for the correction of misstatements.

Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance in St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 19.—The following named persons met at 410½ Market street this day at 8 p. m. and organized a local alliance of the S. T. & L. A.: J. T. Nichols, Henry Knobel, Ed. Breche, Thomas Krause, Lewis C. Fry, Frank Knobel, Sol. Kaucher, John Murnaght, Julius Heldman and Julius Knobel. The war is on, and the fakir must go. The "Red-noised and Pimple-faced Brigade" will have a Waterloo in St. Louis. The movement here is taking a good course. When the charter arrives we will begin to fire into the camp of the fakirs, and the howl they make will be "moose to the ears" of decent and class-conscious workmen.

## THE COMING REVOLUTION.

Excerpts from Speeches of the German Emperor that Don't Sound Wholly Foreign.

The following excerpts from speeches made by the Emperor of Germany in the last few years, read in connection with the results of the voting at the various Parliamentary elections, will be found highly useful in obtaining an insight into the present political situation of the German Empire. It is useful to remember that, in Germany, it is the revolutionary party in which political interest centres; it is the first party to be considered when any legislation is proposed; from the anticipated effect of any legislative measure upon this party largely depends the probability of its acceptance or rejection. Shortly before his accession (1887) the Emperor said:

"The most practical protection of throne and altar against the destructive tendencies of an anarchic and infidel party is to be found in the regaining of these unbelievers to Christianity and to the church. Thus will they seek to recognize the lawful authority of the monarchy and learn to appreciate it. Greater stress must therefore be laid upon Christian social beliefs."

On June 25, 1888, at the opening of the Reichstag:

"I consider it necessary that the development of the State and of society follow the legally prescribed way, and that all endeavors which aim at, and cause, the undermining of the authority of the State, be strenuously opposed."

On May 1, 1889, he wrote as follows:

"The teaching of the Social Democrats not only contradicts the Divine Commandments and Christian morality, but is in reality impracticable. Its consequences are equally harmful to the individual and to the community."

On May 14, 1889, he told some miners of the Ruhr district that:

"For me, every Social Democrat is an enemy of the empire and of the nation."

On the same day he told some other miners in the same district:

"Should I notice that Social Democratic tendencies enter into your movement and provoke you to illegal resistance, I shall interfere with an unrelenting severity and make use of the full power—and it is a very great one—which stands at my command."

On September 7, 1894, at a banquet held at Königsberg:

"Before us is the statue of the Emperor William I., holding the imperial sword, a symbol of law and order. It earnestly admonishes us to battle against the efforts directed against the foundations of State and society. Gentlemen, my cry now goes out to you. 'Arise! To battle for religion, for morals, and order, against the revolutionary parties.' Let the Prussian nobility, and with it the whole nobility of the German nation, be a brilliant example to that section of the people which still hesitates. Well, then, let us all join in this battle! Forward with God, and infamous he who leaves his King in the lurch!"

Fourteen days later at Thorn:

"I repeat to you the words I recently uttered at Königsberg. 'To battle against the parties of revolution!' They only can rest assured of my royal favor who feel themselves fully to be my Prussian subjects. I hope that the Polish citizens of Thorn will fully conform to that which I said in Königsberg, for only then, when we all stand side by side, a phalanx, it is possible to bring the battle against revolution to a successful issue. Let the inhabitants of Thorn show a good example in this respect; such is my wish."

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Sedan, September 2, 1895, at a banquet held in the Royal Palace:

"But in the midst of this jubilation a note which is out of place has been audible. A rabble, unworthy to bear the proud name of German, has dared to insult the German nation, has dared to drag in the dust the holy person of the all-honored, immortal Emperor. Let the whole nation find the strength to repulse these unheard-of attacks. Should this not occur, I then call upon you (to the assembled officers) to resist this treasonable band, to wage a war which will rid us of such elements."

At the beginning of December, 1895, at the dinner of the mess of the Life Guards, in Breslau:

"And the more I see behind watchwords and party considerations, the more firmly and certainly do I count upon my army, and the more decisively do I trust that my army will follow my wishes, and not, whether against the foe at home or abroad. \* \* \* It is on the officers that I reckon."

On October 13, 1895, he telegraphed to the Vize-Gerent of Alsace-Lorraine:

"Have just learnt through the papers of the fearful murder of the manufacturer Schwartz in Mülhausen. This is again a sacrifice to the revolutionary movement fanned by the Socialists. Why does not the nation pluck up courage?"

The Kaiser then published an allegorical picture of his own making. It represents the nations of Europe assembled in friendship to do battle against the danger which threatens them all, in the shape of Buddha. The picture bears the motto, "People of Europe, protect your most treasured possessions." Buddha symbolizes Social Democracy.

More recently, at a banquet of Brandenburgians, he said:

"The duty which is incumbent upon us, which we are all, in duty to him (William I.) bound to fulfill, is the battle against revolution; with all the means in our power. Social Democracy, which dares to attack the foundations of the state, which does not even stop short of the person of the All-Highest (by this word he means himself), must be he noble or villain—who joins me in this fight! We shall then be doing right, and we shall not weary of the fight till we have freed our country of this pestilence, which not only ravages our people, but our family life, and above all, which seeks to disturb that which we Germans hold most holy, the position of women. And I hope that when the flame breaks out, I shall see my men of the Mark about me. The Mark, the men of the Mark! Hurrah!"

In connection with the foregoing references to the Social Democrats, the following statistics afford food for ample reflection:

The men of the Mark voted as follows at the general parliamentary elections on June 15, 1893:

Total votes registered.....	691,146
" favorable to the government.....	288,501
" Social Democratic.....	278,974
" Democratic (non-Socialists).....	112,836

That is, a little more than two-fifths of the men could be said to be staunch adherents to the crown.

In 1887, when the Emperor made his first speech against the Social Democrats, there were 763,128 votes given for them at the general parliamentary election. Three years later this number had grown to 1,427,298, and in 1893 the party had obtained a total vote of 1,786,738. Since then, in its attempt to introduce anti-revolutionary legislation, the Government has suffered a crushing defeat, in fact, made a fiasco. Several bye-elections have shown that the tide is still with Social Democracy, so that it is highly probable that at the next parliamentary elections (in 1898) the revolutionary party will obtain over two million votes. All the other parties of Germany are disunited and everlastingly quarrelling among themselves about the distribution of capitalist spoils; they seem unable to form a coalition against their common foe. The revolutionary party is, on the other hand, a model of solidity, it is splendidly organized, excellently drilled, every member of it is filled with a fervent esprit de corps and a dauntless self-sacrifice, it feels confident in itself and certain of ultimate victory. Truly a formidable foe.

Recently the Kaiser and his following celebrated with great feasts and squandering of money the hundredth anniversary of his grandfather's birthday. The threats he then made of still more stringent reactionary measures against Social Democrats than those now in force suggest that there is something in the wind. We can quietly await it; the decisive battle is not for just yet; we wait and lie low.

W. C. B.

London "Justice."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

Gladly Would We if We Could.

TO THE PEOPLE:—Your issue of June 6th, 1897, has an account of the egg throwing in San Francisco, Cal., during a S. L. P. speaking. I know it would be a great benefit to our cause could the guilty parties be located and their names printed so as to be known in the near future. They are a curse to civilized people; their names should be made public before the dawn of 1900 they will be skulking into the S. L. P. if not spotted, and, like the eggs they use for weapons, they foul all they come in contact with.

M. McMANUS.

Jersey, Yavapai Co., Arizona, June 14.

## A Warm Convert.

To the Editor of THE PEOPLE:—I must write and express my great admiration for the paper and its bold, uncompromising attitude in guiding and instructing the proletarian army. I consider it a literary gem of the first water. The clear-cut logic and satirical lashing in its columns when concentrated on any wildcat scheme, any fake reform, any crook or any snare set to catch the workers' vote with, is such that it makes the thing attacked shrivel up like a cabbage leaf in a blast furnace.

Comrades, throw overboard all capitalistic sheets and give your undivided support to this our fiery consumer of all rascality. I've fired the arch enemy of all labor—the New York "Sun"—out of my presence for good. I am but a recent convert to Socialism. I used to regard it in a general way as something ethereal or Anarchistic until last fall, when I had my eyes opened by a Comrade and THE PEOPLE and "Merrie England." I then saw where my salvation lay, and promptly went and registered and voted straight the S. L. P. ticket in the last State election.

Why are not all Socialist ballots marked straight? Let us remember this is the test of fidelity to our convictions—that we vote, therefore let us vote straight.

Three cheers for the living, breathing, aggressive Socialism of to-day!

A LOCOMOTIVE FIREMAN.

Providence, R. I., June 6.

## LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

Wm. G., Newburyport, Mass.—You should give notice of the matter to Comrade Thomas C. Brophy, Boston. He has made it his business to keep THE PEOPLE in the Massachusetts public reading rooms.

P., Jersey City.—Keep copy of your contributions, then compare them carefully with the publication.

F. Serrer, New Haven.—The report will be in THE PEOPLE of July 4. Too late and too long for this coming issue.

M. Winchewsky, N. Y.—We have it in our power to send you to jail; it is a wise provision of the criminal code, and one born of a sense of decency, to make a penal offence the using of the mail for blackmailing, especially through the medium of postal cards. Be more careful with others; they may be less indulgent.

Your manuscript will be returned just as soon as we have had time to secure a verified copy, and not before, so as to protect us against your palming off something else for the rejected matter, as you and yours are in the habit of doing.

J. W., Cliftondale, Mass.—The Ruskin colony is located in Tennessee. It is not yet dissolved, but it is rent by internal strife, and an action has been brought by one of the co-operators to put the concern in a receiver's hands. In the next issue we may have something on that.

J. H. Steerman, Philadelphia.—Be patient; give us a chance.

M. Brown, Philadelphia.—Your article shall receive careful consideration.

## MOVEMENT ABROAD.

## FRANCE.

Some very exciting elections have taken place in France recently. Conspicuous among them was the municipal contest at Roubaix, Guesde's stronghold. This fight was necessitated by the outrageous ministerial dissolution of the previous Socialist Council. Government took special means to thin the labor vote, but to no purpose. The head of the Socialist list obtained 9,997 or 113 more than eleven months before; his companions followed closely, and the capitalist party brought up the rear with votes ranging from 9,116 downwards. The election was preceded by a brilliant campaign on the part of many Socialist deputies, and was followed by an enthusiastic outburst fully justifying a posteriori the action of the government. St. Ouen, another famous industrial district, has returned to her Socialist allegiance. This municipality was lost in 1896 owing to party divisions. At the second ballot in May, 1897, the Socialist Union obtained 2,251 votes (gain of 129); Opportunist-Reactionary list, 2,054; Allemanist list, 150. Calvignac, the much persecuted Mayor of Carmaux, has been re-elected to the seat from which he was ousted by the Prefect, and another Socialist obtained a hairbreadth victory (579 to 568) in the same important centre. The government pressure was very severe. The party has contested two seats on the municipality of Asnières for the first time, and the candidates obtained 1,278 and 1,152, as compared with 1,133 and 1,077 to the Opportunists. Our friends were therefore elected. At Arrmclères a seat was won on the Municipal Council and others were lost by only 50 votes; the party polling 2,740 against 1076 last year. A bye election for the Municipal Council at Albi (seat of the Labour glassworks) has yielded a Socialist majority of 800; and at Fumay two municipal candidates of the Parti Ouvrier have succeeded with 100 votes to the good. At Istres 5 of our municipal candidates have been returned.

For the first Parliamentary Division of Brest a Radical Socialist improved his 2,910 votes to 4,167 at the second ballot, but his Opportunist adversary obtained 4,853. There was no change in the representation. Another Radical Socialist at Vouziers obtained 9,054 votes against 2,772 given to a Republican. This is a gain.

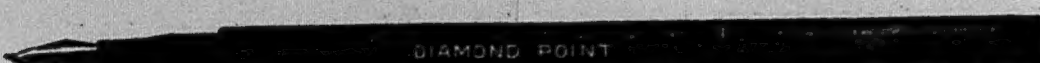
## GERMANY.

The queer monarch of this fine nation is once more making his empire in high political play. In his bourgeois-elected Prussian Chamber he has been striving to further restrict the rights of association of his people. Even here he has been warned to some extent by the rejection of the most distasteful clauses; but in the much more representative Reichstag the following significant counter-measure has been summarily passed by 207 votes to 53, representing 6 million electors against 1½ millions: "Associations of every kind may enter into union one with another. Provisions to the contrary in the laws of the different German states are repealed." Kaiser and Parliament are thus in direct conflict with each other. Behind Parliament is the people; the Socialists have already convened meetings in Berlin which have been attended by more than 40,000 citizens; and, in short, a "catastrophe" is freely predicted. (It is pleasing to be able to add, at the moment of writing, that the Prussian House has rejected the article providing for the dissolution of meetings "threatening the safety of the State," and further rejected an amendment making the same provision applicable to "Socialists and Anarchists only." The voting on the latter was 206 against, 193 for.)

An idea is given of the present state of freedom in the land of philosophers by an incident from Leipzig. The police of this great city have recently prevented an orator from continuing his speech because he was criticizing—not the Kaiser, nor Bismarck, nor the microscopic princelet of some acre of German earth—but of all people in the world, that sacred personage, Li Hung Chang!



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## PARTY NEWS.

### Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

The National Executive Committee, S. L. P., to the Jewish Members of the Socialist Labor Party.

To the Jewish Members of the Socialist Labor Party:

Comrades:—Anent the close of the general vote on the proposition to make the "Abendblatt" and the "Arbeiterzeitung" Jewish official organs of the party, we desire to address a few words to you.

Whatever objections have been raised in the past against the form of management of the Jewish Socialist press—in so far as these objections were bona fide and honestly made—they may be summed up in the complaint that the Publishing Association alone controlled these papers, and that the Jewish membership had no say and no opportunity to air any of its grievances before an impartial tribunal.

This objection and the ground upon which it stands has been removed. The Jewish Socialist papers now occupy the same position exactly that is held by our English and German party organs, that is to say, the party itself, through its National Executive Committee, has the power to rectify anything that may be found to be wrong. It also has the power to hear and determine any grievances that may arise as to the editorial conduct and business management of the papers, and thus, whenever you have any good reason for complaint, you can turn to a body not directly involved in any question of dispute, and therefore in a position to decide such cases on their merits and on their merits alone.

In view of this important change, decreed by an overwhelming majority vote of the whole party, we call upon all those who really and in good faith maintained an attitude of opposition on those grounds; those who believed what they said, and did not use this objection as a mere shield and a pretense to screen the real motives of their opposition, we call upon all these to set aside whatever personal pet wishes they may have had in this matter, to fall to and do the utmost in their power to help make these papers what they should be—the educators of the Jewish working masses in the cause of Socialism.

During the period of strife, with all the friction attending such, many bitter things are thought and said, and personal antagonisms are fostered. It behooves you now to forget all this after the party has spoken and passed its verdict upon the question in dispute; to let sink from sight and from memory the troubles of the past, and as good Socialists unite your efforts on behalf of our press, the mightiest weapon we have in the battle of emancipation; a weapon so dearly bought through years of labor and struggle, and yet so lightly judged by some who would without hesitation incite you to destroy it, simply because they are not permitted to rule for the purpose of ruining.

Let each one of you see to it that the decision of the party as expressed by general vote is respected, and show to the world that the discipline of the Socialist movement, the voluntary discipline of intelligent men, is not an empty word.

For the National Executive Committee, HENRY KUHN, Secy.

### National Executive.

At the session held June 21 Comrade Furman was in the chair. All present except Matchett, excused. Financial report for the week ending June 19th showed receipts, \$43; expenditures, \$39.11; balance, \$4.89. A committee from the Arbeiterzeitung Publishing Association appeared for the purpose of making the arrangements necessary for the exercise of control by the National Executive Committee. The present editors, Comrades Krantz and Feigenbaum, were confirmed for the ensuing term, and the secretary was instructed to find a person competent to examine the books of the association. The selection of a special committee for the hearing of grievances is laid over until next meeting.

Resolved to arrange two English agitation tours in the near future. P. Salmon, of Medford, Okla. Territory, admitted a member-at-large. Charter granted to an Italian Section in New Haven, Conn.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

### Maryland.

Section Baltimore at a general meeting last Sunday, at Labor Lyceum, resolved to hold a convention of the party on July 12 in order to nominate candidates for the coming election.

Section Baltimore has the required one per centage of votes in one Legislative District and six city wards. There will also be nomination made for Mayor and Sheriff of the city. It is to be hoped that the workmen of Baltimore will not let themselves be talked into enthusiasm for one or the other of the old capitalist parties, but will prove that they understand the situation by voting the ticket of the only party that has stood up for rights and emancipation of the working class, and has as its only view the welfare of the people at large, and not the benefit of a few to the injury of the many.

The convention of the S. L. P. in Baltimore for the purpose of nominating candidates for the coming election will be held at Labor Lyceum, 575 West Lombard street, on Monday, July 12, at 8 p. m.

The officers to be filled in the coming election are: Mayor, Sheriff, Judge-at-Law, and the following members of the City Council and Legislature.

### Large members of the City Council and Legislature.

In the First Legislative District the party has the necessary one per centage to give it official recognition without nomination paper signed, as heretofore, candidate may be nominated in convention. We have the necessary one per centage also in Wards 2, 3, 4, 5, 15 and 18. In the other wards and Legislative Districts it will be necessary to get 200 signatures for each office. For Mayor, Sheriff and Judge-at-Large 300 signatures.

The Comrades are urged to attend the meeting on July 12 and make it the success it bids fair to be.

### Massachusetts.

BOSTON, June 21.—By vote of Boston American Section, the next regular meeting will be held at 45 Eliot street, Friday, July 2. Election of officers and other important business to be transacted.

BOSTON, June 21.—Members of the Karl Marx class, comrades and friends are invited to meet at the Grand Union Station (ladies' waiting room), Sunday, July 18th, at 9:30 a. m., weather permitting, and with us review the great science of wealth production, Karl Marx's "Capital," at our grand summer reunion, to be held at Pine Tree Banks, Melrose, which is one of the finest scenes around Boston. Bring your lunches, and have all questions regarding the study prepared beforehand. Members of the school are requested to notify the secretary if they will be present. DAVID GOLDSTEIN, Sec. 11 Southwood street, Roxbury.

### New York.

NEW YORK CITY.—The next meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., takes place on Saturday next, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street. Delegates should not fail to be on hand.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

### New York Primaries.

Further primaries to be held to elect delegates to the City Convention on July 17th are as follows:

Friday, 25th—28th Assembly District, 497 Ave. A.

Monday, June 26th, 8 p. m.—24th Assembly District, at 1059 2d avenue.

Wednesday, June 30th, 8 p. m.—6th Assembly District, at 64 E. 4th street.

Friday, July 2, 8 p. m.—35th Assembly District, at 2994 3d avenue.

19th Ward Branch, at 83 Bartlett street, Brooklyn.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

NEW YORK CITY.—The regular meeting of the New York Socialist Literary Society was held on Friday, June 18th, with Comrade Christenfeld in the chair. Reports of the financial and corresponding secretaries accepted. Two new candidates, Paul Batterman and I. Marantz, were initiated. The grand concert in New Irving Hall on Saturday evening was a great success.

All young men of good moral character who wish to increase their knowledge on Socialism can come around our club rooms, where we have a large reading room, containing a large number of radical papers, books, pamphlets and magazines, which treat on the above subject. The reading room is open every evening from 7:30 p. m. to 11 p. m. Sundays all day until 11 p. m.

PHILIP HOCH, Cor. Secy.

### Pennsylvania.

PITTSBURGH, June 19.—The convention of the Socialist Labor party of the State of Pennsylvania, held in Pittsburgh, May 30th, 1897, transferred, by a vote of 8 to 14, the State Committee from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.

In conformity with this vote, a regularly called joint meeting of all the Sections in Pittsburgh assembled at Odd Fellows' Hall, South Side, and elected the following officers and members of the State Committee to serve during the ensuing term:

Henry Peters, chairman, German Section, Allegheny, No. 6 Bluff street, Allegheny; F. M. Gessner, secretary, American Section, S. S., 2516 Sidney street, Pittsburgh; A. D. Wegman, American Section, S. S., 2000 Bedford avenue, Pittsburgh; assistant secretary, Gustave Buschek; treasurer, German Section, S. S., 7614 Frankstown avenue, Pittsburgh; Emil Guwang, 1135 Liberty street, Pittsburgh, German Section, Allegheny; Albert Berg, German Section, S. S., Ridge and Moore streets, Pittsburgh; Val Rimmel, 75 Arlington avenue, Pittsburgh, S. S., American Section, Pittsburgh, S. S.; A. Monkiewicz, Polish Section, Pittsburgh, 2417 Smallman street, Pittsburgh.

F. M. GESSNER.

PHILADELPHIA, June 22.—At the meeting of the Section on the day before yesterday there was a large attendance. A resolution was adopted to the effect that Section Philadelphia must preserve order and discipline in its own ranks. The Jewish branch had refused to withdraw its endorsement from the alleged Jewish Socialist paper, "Forward." After a long debate it was decided to dissolve the Jewish branch and to authorize the Central Committee to organize a new Jewish branch with the loyal members.

Comrades Bruyn, Kupfinger and Wellendek were elected delegates to the Central Committee. The delegates to the State Convention made their report.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

### Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

At the meetings of the General Executive Board the following business was transacted.

Charters were granted Progressive Tailors' Alliance of Buffalo, N. Y.; Capmakers' Union No. 1, of Philadelphia; Progressive Musical Union of Brooklyn, and the Bohemian Progressive Typographical Union of New York.

Progressive Musical Union, Swedish Machinists' Union and the United Brotherhood of Tailors of Brooklyn were instructed to affiliate with D. A. No. 3, which meets July 2 at 949 Wiloughby avenue.

The reapplication of the Social Democratic Workmen's Association of Philadelphia, Pa., for a charter was referred for endorsement to D. A. No. 12.

Organizer M. Weber was authorized to organize a D. A. for Buffalo.

It was announced that political pull seemed necessary to acquire Faneuil Hall, Boston, for convention purposes, and it was decided to at once stop negotiations and accept the voluntary offer made by the German Workmen's Society and engage the German Workmen's Hall, Armory street, Roxbury, Boston, Mass., as the place to hold the second annual convention of the S. T. & L. A. Organizer H. Wehner was instructed to engage suitable hotel accommodation, and to also issue a challenge to Robert Asche, of the International Association of Machinists, to debate the principles of the S. T. & L. A. and the interest of the Machinists as organized by it, and the Empire City Lodge of Machinists, for some evening during the continuance of the convention.

Central Labor Federation, N. Y., D. A. No. 1, notified the body that after due investigation of the charges against the Bohemian Bakers' Union, same had been sustained. On motion the charter of the said union was revoked.

As a certain "reform" element, in conjunction with a multitude of "pure and simple," were engaged in spreading false reports as to an alleged printers' label granted by the G. E. B., it is well to have it understood that each D. A. having its autonomy, have a right to adopt a D. A. label for its own and the use of its affiliations.

D. A. 8, of Boston, offered the use of its headquarters at 1095 Tremont street, to the G. E. B. during the convention, and all delegates seeking information will find this office open for their benefit from the opening to the close of said convention.

The Secretary was instructed to arrange with the State Committee, S. L. P., of Mass., and Section of Boston, to aid in organizing some trades whose headquarters are in New York.

All delegates are again notified that the delegation of D. A. No. 1 and affiliated unions leave by the Fall River boat on Sunday afternoon, July 4, foot of Murray street, N. Y., at 5:30 p. m.

The next meeting will be held on Wednesday, June 16th, at 8 p. m., at 64 East 4th street.

At the meeting of the General Executive Board held last Wednesday Comrade De Leon was chairman.

Charter applications were read and granted to the Social Democratic Workmen's Society, Philadelphia, and the Mixed Trades' Alliance, Montreal, Canada.

Complaint was made by District Assembly No. 1 that the West Side Assembly Districts, S. L. P., had hired music for a festival which was directly antagonistic to everything Socialistic. It was decided to remit this to the Central Committee.

The action of the Ind. Bakers' Unions relative to the Bohemian Bakers' Union, whose charter was revoked by the G. E. B. on proven charges, was discussed, and the National Alliance Bakers No. 8 instructed not to recognize same, as the case will come up in the convention.

Organizer H. Wehner was instructed to secure quarters at the Norfolk House for the delegates.

The next and last meeting of the present G. E. B. will be held on Wednesday, June 30, 8 p. m., 64 E. 4th st.

### D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.) Delegate G. Sieburg, of the Section Greater New York, S. L. P., was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the New York Central Labor Federation (D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A.), and delegate C. Finkelstein, of the Carl Sahn Club, was vice-chairman.

A letter from Chicago, Ill., was read, and stated that the Egg Inspectors' Union had been organized by Dick Pomerooy for "business" purposes, but since "Dick" had fallen from grace the "business union" had collapsed.

The House Committee of the New York Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street, notified the body that if the Ind. Bakers' Union would send address of union shop the bread to be used would be ordered.

The Arbitration Committee reported having investigated the grievance against Cafe Central and settled it, so that the suspended member of Waiters' Alliance Liberty could pay his indebtedness at \$1 per week. The union endorsed this. Relative to the Metropolitan Cafe, the proprietor stated he did not want any trouble with the C. L. F., and that he was forced by circumstances to act as he did. The report was adopted. Relative to the Grand Central Palace, the committee reported that Manager Montgomery Maze promised last Monday that he would instruct his head waiter Behrmann, to employ only members of the German Waiters' Union No. 1 and Bartenders' Union No. 1, but on Saturday evening other waiters were employed. This matter was referred to the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

The committee which visited the joint meeting of the Ind. Bakers' Union re-



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of Section

# GREATER NEW YORK, S. L. P.

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The Socialist Drum and Fife Corps will also entertain the guests. Prize Bowling for Gentlemen, also various Games for Prizes for Ladies and Children.

Music by the Carl Sahn Club.

TICKET for Gentleman and Lady 25 Cents.

Take 3rd Ave. Cable Car and transfer at 125th St., direct to the park.

To Commence at 2 P. M.

THE COMMITTEE.

## EXCURSION

—OF THE—

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OFFICIAL ORGANS OF THE S. L. P.

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# THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to June 23th, 1897.

\$4,535.

The following amounts have been paid down to June 23d, incl.: Previously acknowledged: \$111.90 Sam Johnson, Trenton, N. J.; John Hossack, Jersey City, N. J.; Gus. Henkle, City, N. Y.; Alex. Kruger, Littlefield, N. Y.; John H. Moore, West Brighton, N. Y.; H. Henry Forrester, Cleveland, O.; Henry Mull, Newark, N. J.; Emil Guris, New Haven, Conn.; G. and M. Chandler, Taunton, Mass.; \$1.49. Total: \$113.39.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

184 William St., N. Y.

ported that the meeting had resolved to instruct each branch to elect a delegate each. During the debate B. Schleustein, of Branch 6, declared that the C. L. F. here and the Socialist Labor party all over the country had favored Weissmann's Unions and injured the Ind. Bakers. (Great laughter.) It was resolved to refer this and the matter of the Bohemian Bakers to the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

Ale and Porter Union reported that its members would join the Assembly Districts of the S. L. P., and it was hoped that the West Side Assembly Districts would soon call an agitation meeting. The union also resolved to attend the departure of the delegates to the S. T. & L. A. in a body on Sunday, July 4, 5 p. m., foot of Murray street, North River.

Furriers' Union will hold a special meeting this Saturday at 385 Bowery.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 1, reported that bosses Kaudler, 2d avenue, between 88th and 89th streets, and Altenmeyer, 2d avenue, 2d avenue, between 75th and 76th streets, had signed the union's contract. On Saturday a general meeting will be held at 1551 2d avenue.

Bartenders' Union No. 1 reported that Saturday two weeks ago the furriers of Asch & Jaeger held a picnic at Sulzer's Westchester Park, and although the proprietor had engaged union bartenders they had to go home, as the furriers employed two of their people at \$1.50 to act as bartenders. The delegate of the Furriers' Union announced that there were only three union men in said shop, and that the bosses hate the union, and that hence the union could not be held responsible. The bosses had organized a sick benefit society, and workmen not joining were discharged.

Waiters' Alliance Liberty has eight propositions for its meeting next Thursday.

Empire City Lodge Machinists requested to know if the other machinists' locals had elected delegates to the S. T. & L. A. convention, and if Asche had accepted the challenge for a discussion.

Int. Plasmakers' Union received a letter from Organizer Wehner, of Boston, stating that he would aid them in organizing the trade up East.

Journeymen Tailors' Union delegate reported that the conservatives are again fighting with Lemon's National Union. Discussion on advanced problems were never held. The delegate declared that he felt awfully tired representing a union like that, and he had therefore resigned. The action of his union thereafter he could not tell. They had elected two organizers for the burial fund.

### D. A. No. 49.

The regular meeting of D. A. 49 was held on Friday evening, June 11th, with the D. M. W., Louis Eckstein, presiding.

Roll call of officers. All present.

Initiating new members at each meeting; election of delegate to the convention will take place at their regular meeting on June 29th; favored the \$3 per month revenue system for the district.

Committee on Reunion reported that nearly all the L. A.'s had tickets for the same; have placed a banner in the Labor Lyceum and one outside the Shoemakers' Headquarters in Brooklyn. The following were elected delegates to the convention of the S. T. & L. A.: Comrades Brower and Eckstein; alternates, Comrades Krinks and Schwartz.

The instruction of the delegates was then taken up, and a lengthy discussion took place, which lasted some time. The instructions will be continued at the next meeting, which will be held on June 25th.

L. A.'s absent—Nos. 63, 155, 518, 772, 1030, 1110, 1169, 1268.

The officers were instructed to visit these locals and inform them if they did not attend the meetings of the D. A. they would be suspended.

It was also ordered that reports of the district meetings be given to THE PEOPLE and the "volkszeitung" and Jewish "Abendblatt."

## Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding 50 lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahn Club (Musicians' Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred. 20

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona fide trade and labor unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 20

Cigar-makers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Baltimore), 384 East 1st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.; District II (German), at 313 Forsyth street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.; District III, meets at 127 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.; District IV, meets at 343 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue at 8 p. m. 21

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: HENRY ZINCK. 21

German Waiters' Union of New York Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 21

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1080. D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Wolf, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 21

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 20

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 24th St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AR. ARBEITERBLAD. 21

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th St. 35th St. D. Meets at Webster Hall, 16th street and 3rd avenue, every Friday at 8 p. m. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street. 21

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 3d and 4th Thursday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 3rd street. 21

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